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exist as long as the regime continues this policy.

Among the most notable shifts of population, mention must be made of the expulsion of the German minorities after World War II and the exchange of minority population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary which made present Hungary a highly homogenous state practically free ~~from~~ of minorities. The well known Communist border-guard measures resulted also in a transfer of the border population neighboring on the free countries, but no figures are available to show the extent of population changes of this kind.

unless they are willing to pay a small ransom. When a new bride arrives in her new community, she is arrested at the village limits and, before being admitted, she must take an oath whereby she formally abjures her old allegiance and swears to uphold the local customs of her new community. 609 [585]

The primary source of prestige among the peasants themselves (not considering village priests, teachers, etc.) is wealth. Nevertheless, individual skill and achievement also add considerably to one's position. Besides strength, special skills and industriousness, a person's oratorical talent increases his prestige surprisingly. It has often been observed that the skill of public speaking, "knowing the tongue of the people," has raised poorer peasants to important positions on the local level. 554

Racial minorities are practically non-existent in Hungary. There is, however, a rather sharp line drawn between Christians and Jews. (The latter tend to congregate in big cities but can be encountered in the villages also.) Authors with democratic and liberal backgrounds often ignore this important phenomenon either on account of a sense of shame or simply because there has never been a reliable and objective study of Magyar public opinion on this point. 563

563 During its history, Hungary has always had its Jews and a certain amount of anti-Semitism has always existed. Until the twentieth century, this prejudice manifested itself rather as a distrust; less often one may encounter a kind of disdain or scorn, but very seldom does Hungarian anti-Semitism manifest itself in hatred or violence, in the manner of the Russian or Polish pogroms. Perhaps this was due to the fact that--unlike the Jewry of the afore-mentioned countries--Hungarian Jews tended less to accept separation into ghettos and they have permitted themselves to be readily assimilated into the local population.

The counter-revolution between the two world wars thoroughly exploited this prejudice, made the Jews responsible for the events of 1919 and, finally, brought anti-Semitism to a peak in 1944. At the end of World War II, a whispering anti-Semitic campaign found new impetus in the fact that some dignitaries imported by the Red Army displayed on their face the je ne sais quoi by which East Europeans fancy themselves able to detect Jewish ancestry easily. How strong anti-Semitism was among the people at that time no one has ever attempted to measure. One could venture to say that it was a prevalent attitude but was not so deep-set as to generate violence.

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Since then, anti-semitism must have lost ground somewhat; as time goes by, more and more gentiles have become more deeply involved in the "people's democracy," and the Communist regime, with its huge system of public information, practically ignores the Jewish problem.

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There are two forces which blur the lines of class structure: one is the Magyar peasant's religious way of thinking as opposed to the materialistic propaganda of the government; the second is ~~their~~ his political opposition to Communism. Moreover, the government's economic policies, if ruthlessly enforced, will, after all, impoverish the independently operating farmers. All this amounts to a levelling process in the Hungarian peasant society which will thus become--if no other factors concur--unitedly hostile to the Communist government--a phenomenon which could also be compared to the disappearance of class distinctions during a serious national emergency.

The Magyar towns and villages have their pariahs: deportees and other outcasts of the present regime, but these people live on the margin of rural society and are too fluctuating to be properly analyzed here. In like manner, there is a favored caste at the upper end of the scale: the aktatáskások ('the ones with the brief cases,' crop collectors, Communist agitators, organizers, and the staff of the

798 eventual frictions have been lessened and in our century they have disappeared so that, today, the defence against the onrush of materialistic propaganda is carried on by a virtually united religious front. Never, since the Crusades and the anti-Turkish wars, have the Magyars been so conscious of the conflict of the "righteous" and "godless" as today.

659 563 Between the two world wars, only the Christian churches enjoyed co-operation on the part of the State, while persons of Jewish faith were submitted to social and economic pressures. During the last years of World War II, this developed into a brutal persecution and deportation along the Nazi pattern.

659 871 After 1945, a separation of Church and State took place and, when the Communists took over the government, open hostilities broke out between them. Prior to that, 5,000 elementary and 120 high schools were denominational, mostly Catholic. These schools, along with all Church property were confiscated and entrusted to a "State Office for Church Affairs," decidedly hostile to any [661] kind of religion. Religious orders were disbanded and all but two of the 400 existing religious periodicals suppressed. Several hundred priests and pastors were deported and leaders of the churches (Primat Mindszenty, Archbishop Grösz, both Catholics, and Lutheran Bishop Ordas) were tried and condemned.

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The choice of building materials depends a great deal upon geographic conditions and, to a limited extent, upon the wealth of the individual builder. The most primitive is the house build of mud. Only on the driest and most barren regions of the Great Plains can this type of house properly shelter its poor inhabitants. Plashed wands are used to strengthen the foundations of these mud houses as well as the adobe houses, made of unbaked but dried cubes of clay, which are very common throughout Hungary. The dirty work of mixing and drying [563] the adobe is left to the gypsies of the village. After completion of the house, the walls are whitewashed inside and out. Stone, brick or timber are used sparsely on the Dunántúl and the Palócság, but even there the outhouses are constructed of more simple mud or clay materials.

Roofing may be of a variety of materials, thatch and reed being the most common ones. Today this roofing is still to be found, although fire ordinances prohibit their use in new constructions. They are now yielding their place to shingles, laths or tiles.

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The layout of the house is of the so-called High German type: it is a "two-fireplace" or "room-kitchen" layout. The living room (tisztaház, fehérház, tisztaszoba, etc.) is generally centered around a furnace (kemence), which is used both for heating and for baking;

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162 The only appreciable minorities in Hungary are the Germans and the Slovaks, but even their number is almost negligible: at present, 2 per cent of the population is German and 0.1 per cent Slovak. The attitude of these minorities toward the present government is quite different: the Slovaks have never had any reason for harboring special resentment against the Communist regime, for they have not been subjected, as have the ~~Slovaks~~ GERMANS, to any discriminatory treatment on the part of the government. Their attitude resembles, therefore, that of the Magyars with whom they live in mixed settlements. The Germans, on the other hand, have been treated with special harshness by the present regime. The German-speaking inhabitants before the war comprised 5.1 per cent of the country's inhabitants, but only 3.3 per cent of the population registered in 1941 as belongin

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563 to German nationality. After World War II, the Potsdam treaty stipulated that "the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken." This agreement referred only to the "disloyal" elements, but no one ever established a workable standard for selecting such people, and thus the fate of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians of German origin were in the hands of local, mostly Communist,

728 563 authorities. The post-war government undertook immediately to comply with the Potsdam decisions and to transfer Germans back to Germany. The Communists, who were strongly represented in the local and later the central government, were ruthless in the evacuation procedure. Deportees were often deprived of the most meager personal belongings and were pushed, helpless, over the border; cases of atrocities were also reported. Those who did manage to remain on their farms (most of the Germans affected were farmers) have not forgotten the lot of their neighbors and relatives, and they are now fiercely anti-Communist, although the government is making some efforts to win them over through German-speaking party organizers and propagandists and by means of a limited-circulation weekly published in German.

186 The national symbols of the Magyars originate, without exception, in pre-Communist times. There is no evidence as yet of any newly-introduced Communist symbol (the Red Star or the like) having gained popular acceptance. Two of the former national symbols, the royal crown and the national coat of arms, have been banned. Although there is no mention of them nowadays, the people who are now (1955) twenty or over, have been brought up on the assumption that the "Holy Crown" embodies national unity and independence and

195 /a/ Such are the proverbs of the people. They do not quote them sep-
538 arately using them only to illuminate or lend color to some passage in their speech. And they use them to a greater extent than the generally known proverbs.

Wanderers, youths who, as blacksmiths or millers or soldiers, have been to the city, bring back with them from there some slang sayings, such as "Are we going on foot or by sewing-machine?", or "Good-day to you, glad to see," etc. The other youths learn these sayings from them, and whereas this certainly gives them a certain amount of interest, especially in the eyes of the girls, the sayings do not become an integral part of their folk heritage, but die out in a few years.

Our less long-winded city "jokes," to which the daily newspapers treat us every day, are almost entirely unknown to them. They do take up one or two of the anecdotes of the calendars which are particularly applicable to them.

On the other hand, the various types of proverbs and anecdotes form a significant part of their everyday speech. In fact, their use is a sign of assimilation into the group, and of efforts made in that
● [563] direction. The region of Tolna and Baranya where I collected my materials is an area of mixed nationality. Those Germans who are being assimilated or who are sympathetic use these forms consciously. This consciousness is evident even in their facial expressions and tone of voice, until complete assimilation has occurred. The use or avoidance of these forms is a measure of the blending and in-feeling or of the extent to which they are set apart, respectively, of the railroad men and factory workers living in the villages.

The frontier of the literary awareness of the people is found in approximately this region. Everything mentioned so far is incidental
539 to the everyday speech of the people. But the following, still modest anecdote is told for the prupose of providing entertainment. (Told by József Ács, farmer of Gerényes, Baranya county, aged 63.)

King Mátyás one day assigned his engineers to measure Mt. Gellért, to see how many bushels it would make. He gave them a month's measuring, that is a month's time; otherwise he would strip them of their diplomas, or ranks, if they could not measure it.

On the last day, as they went to measure, they met a gipsy. Of course, their hopes were lost. Said the gipsy: "Hey, gentlemen, give me a little piece of a cigar."

The chief engineer said to him: "As though we were in the mood to smoke cigars! Not that we have any cigars!"

563, 162 Hungary EC1

[For information on the ethnic composition of Hungary see 6: Viski, cat. 116, entire source.]

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000 Horthy's might have been tempted to label him, as Horthy's did, a Communist. But not being in fact a Communist, and on the other hand never having been enrolled as an "Awakening Magyar" and never having collaborated with the Nazis, he was now in extreme danger; the exact point at which he would be liquidated must already have been noted in his dossier at the A.V.O., the police section of the Ministry of the Interior. He spoke to me in a matter-of-fact way about how the A.V.O. operates in its headquarters, a rapidly lengthening row of buildings, all with pansies in window-boxes, on Andrassy Utca. He gave no sign, however, of realizing that one day he was bound to discover the exact truth of all the tales about its system of interrogations and ingenious tortures. Bourgeois survivors in states well along on the road to being Communized seldom let themselves realize the desperateness of their situation; they can do nothing to change it, and so they avoid even thinking about it. If such a man of the world as the friend I am speaking of gives way to this instinct, how much more would the ordinary citizen who is unaccustomed to noting subtle signs of change in the political climate and who inclines anyway to discount the influence that theory exercises on action, Communist or otherwise? If my experienced friend had not read the portents in Revai's speech, who were these other thousands to stop at home and shudder?

563 Of several dozen persons with whom I had casual contact in shops, streetcars, coffeehouses, hotels or in asking my way in the street, only one or two failed to say some word of lament, when they found that I was an American, for the old days. But they had been through too much during and since the war to believe that the future could really be worse than the past. Even the surviving Jews, who form such an important sector of the Budapest middle class, hesitated to draw the full conclusions from the fact that all Zionist organizations had been dissolved in March and that legal Jewish emigration was becoming impossible and clandestine emigration more and more perilous. Some thought that the large numbers of Jews in the Hungarian Communist hierarchy would guarantee the security of the Jewish community as a whole. So many Jews held office in the first Communist-dominated cabinet that it was said that the one or two so-called Christian members had been included in order to make sure

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there might be someone to countersign decrees of execution on Saturdays. The Jewish cabinet members maintain, however, that all Hungarian Jews ought to embrace Communism in gratitude to the Soviet Union for having saved them from the Nazis. There are from 150,000 to 200,000 Jewish survivors still in Hungary, most of them shopkeepers or members of the professions and therefore anti-Communist. Probably as much as 75 percent of them would like to emigrate to Israel. Since that is forbidden they have settled down to a life as near to usual as possible.

The opinion in diplomatic circles was that Laszlo Rajk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was less powerful than he had been as Minister of the Interior and head of the secret police, his post until August 1948. His transfer was interpreted as a demotion, since foreign ministers of satellite states do not make their own policy but execute the policy of the Kremlin. As he was head of the Foreign Office, however, I asked to see him. His colleague in charge of the press and propaganda, an intelligent and cultivated Mr. Boldizsar, told me that to Mr. Rajk's great regret he was too busy in view of the coming elections to find time to receive me. I remarked that this must mean that the elections promised to be very close, to which Mr. Boldizsar replied with a look of studied blankness. A week or so later the elections were held, and the announced returns gave the government list—the only one permitted, of course—95.6 percent of the votes. The next step was to form a new cabinet. When the names were published, Mr. Rajk's was not among them, even in the innocuous post of Foreign Minister.

June of 1949 was a particularly trying period for Communist leaders everywhere in Eastern Europe. In Sofia the Kostov purge had begun and in Albania Koci Xoxe had ended his career before a firing squad. Might not leaders in other satellite countries be called on to make some sacrifice—accept the blame for Cominform plans gone wrong or bear witness to what could happen to a Communist who was nationalist enough to resist Moscow's policies? The question was answered for Hungary on June 15, 1949, with the announcement that Laszlo Rajk had been dismissed as Minister for Foreign Affairs and expelled from the Politburo and the Party as a "nationalist," "Titoist" and "Trotskyite."

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posed of only three or four streets, sometimes only one. The little white cottages stand along it at regular intervals; only in old villages where families have multiplied and land is short, one site will contain three or four cottages crowded together. All the cottages are usually much of a size, except for the houses of the village priest, the schoolmaster and the notary. The older cottages are built of sun-dried brick, and thatched; the newer ones are of fired brick, and often roofed with the uglier but more healthy material known as 'eternit'. Most villages also contain one or more larger houses, the houses of the local squires or, as they call themselves (by the English word) 'gentry'. Every third or fourth village boasts a larger 'castle', the seat of the local 'magnate', prince, count or baron so-and-so. Sometimes these 'castles' face right on to the village street; more often they are set back in rather dusty parks. Each has a portico in front of it, with a coat of arms carved on the architrave; but like the cottages, they are usually one-storied and, like them, usually end at the back in farm buildings.

West Hungary is a pleasant country, in places well wooded and, although no hedges divide the fields, the sunken, dusty farm tracks, like deep Devonshire lanes, are often enclosed with acacias which meet over the head. A reasonable rainfall comes from the west, giving good crops, and the southern slopes of the hills are clothed with vineyards yielding a wine which is light (not so light as it seems) but very palatable. The country is essentially rural and the population has long been almost stationary; in many places, indeed, the

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peasants have, to the great but ineffectual concern of the authorities, aimed at having only one child in order to keep their holdings intact, for by Magyar custom a farm is divided equally among its owner's children on his death. The German colonists, on the other hand—the Swabians—pass on their heritage undivided, usually to the youngest son, while the remainder seek their fortunes in the towns. This is certainly one reason why the Swabians prosper more than the Magyars. Their superior neatness, diligence and sobriety is, it must be confessed, another and not less potent reason.

The Swabians are to be found in some strength in the Bakony region, in the south-east, near Pécs (a region devastated by the Turks, recolonized and known by the Germans as 'Swabian Turkey'), and on the very outskirts of Buda.

BUDAPEST. Buda itself, the western half of the twin capital of Budapest, was once a typical German-Hungarian town, although containing also a quarter, now demolished, which was the home of Serbian merchants. Here stood the old Royal Palace, the Cathedral and also the winter palaces of the Hungarian nobles. Later, the new palace and most of the new Government buildings, the Ministries, etc., were built there. Buda, before destruction overtook it, was still rather an old-fashioned place, administrative rather than commercial or industrial. It stands on a steep hill, with a fine outlook over the Danube, Pest and the great plain beyond. Behind Buda hill, the wooded valleys were covered with modern villas, the homes of civil servants and clerks.

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yard, drinking a little wine, talking and listening to the gypsy orchestra. Both food and wine were cheap (and you were not expected to drink much); time was not expensive, and a small tip to the leader of the orchestra would bring bows and compliments as though you were a duke at least, and a selection of tunes played at your table, right into your ear. For other times of the day, particularly after the mid-day meal, which in Hungary is the principal meal, there were the cafés, where, again, you might spend all the time you had to spare at no more expense than the price of a cup of coffee. All cafés kept the newspapers, and the waiter would bring you any that you wanted. The big Budapest cafés, and the main cafés in the larger provincial towns, had foreign newspapers, including English, as well as Hungarian.

THE JEWS. Until a year or two ago, almost all the shopkeepers in Hungary were Jews. The true Hungarian, the Magyar of the upper and middle classes, despised business as a career not fitting for a gentleman. If, therefore, he could not live as a landowner, he entered the public service as a civil servant or officer or schoolmaster, or perhaps went into the Church. Even the poor man who saved a little money and wanted to better his son did not try to set him up in business, but got him a job in the police, or the railways, or in some small government office. Thus the middle classes of Hungary consisted of two worlds, living side by side and mixing very little: the Magyars in the government services the Jews in business, finance and most of the professions.

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162 As everywhere in Central Europe, there were a great many Jews in Hungary. The last census showed about 800,000 Jews out of a total population of 14,000,000. There were over 200,000 Jews in Budapest alone. Outside the capital they were most numerous in the north and east, near the Polish frontier; but there was no town in Hungary without its Jewish colony, and even in a village of any size the village shopkeeper, most likely the innkeeper, perhaps the doctor and the vet, would be Jews. If there was a big estate, a Jew would probably keep its accounts.

563 Many of the Hungarian Jews had lived in the country for generations, spoke Magyar as their mother tongue, had taken Magyar names and had begun to intermarry with their Magyar neighbours. In the north-east, however, where many of the Jews were recent immigrants from Poland, they wore the traditional Jewish costume, spoke Yiddish and preserved their strict Orthodox religion and distinctive habits. On the whole, relations between Jews and Christians in Hungary were, until recent years, not bad. The two classes of society did not mix very much, but they lived fairly happily side by side. Nineteenth-century Hungary was, in fact, very proud of its 'liberalism' in admitting Jews freely into the country and in not discriminating against them; and its rulers were well aware that the Jews were developing the country economically in a way which they themselves would not have had the experience, or the capital, to do. There was, indeed, plenty of room for both classes.

GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM. After the last war, how-

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GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM. After the last war, how-
ever, there was a considerable reaction against the 563
Jews, partly because the Communist leader Béla 668
Kún, who ruled in Hungary for some months in 578
1919, and most of his leading assistants, were Jews.
Furthermore, times were changing. There were no
longer places enough to go round in the State
service and the younger generation of Magyars
began to look for business careers, and to regard
the Jews as rivals. This affected especially a class
of Hungarians who have played a very important
and very disastrous part in recent history: the
young generation of 'Swabians' (see Chapter 1).
The sons of Swabian peasants who came to Buda-
pest to make their living could not, like the son
of the old Magyar aristocratic or 'gentry' family,
reckon on influential family connections to get
them safe jobs in some ministry. They had to
make their own way in the world, and it was they,
more than any other class, who felt the force of
the Jewish competition. Then when Hitler and
his Nazis came into power in Germany, the
Swabians, in spite of their Magyar upbringing,
and very often, Magyar names, suddenly felt them-
selves German. They not only sympathized with
Germany's political aims, but also with the Nazi
social ideas, including anti-semitism. They in-
fected others, and before long there was a con-
siderable party in Hungary clamouring noisily for
the adoption of the Nazi system, and in particular
for laws and measures against the Jews similar to
those which the Nazis were enforcing in Germany.

The Hungarian government and people did not 563
give way easily to this clamour. But it was not diffi- 661
cult to whip up a good deal of ill-feeling against the

563 Jews, particularly among the younger generation
661 who found it difficult to get jobs, and resented the much greater wealth of the average Jew. Yielding to the popular demand, laws were passed restricting the proportion of Jews in the professions and universities and expropriating Jewish-owned land. But the Jews still enjoyed a degree of protection not paralleled in Nazi-controlled Europe until March 1944, the fatal date when the Germans really established control in Hungary. Then the gang of professional anti-semites came into power who introduced the counterpart of the Nuremberg laws into Hungary, with all their accompaniment of the ghetto, the yellow star, eviction from almost every job and every kind of brutal and humiliating restriction.

It was also established that the Jews, who had not been allowed to serve in the army and had been formed into separate labour corps, were being sent to Poland to work behind the German lines, and it was feared that they were being exterminated there by the Germans. This fate was reported to have been inflicted on all the Jews of Hungary outside Budapest, men, women and children alike. The deportations were stopped on the intervention of the Pope, the King of Sweden and others, but were renewed, and extended to Budapest, when the Arrow Cross seized power in October 1944.

563 The more progressive and decent elements
578 in Hungary never approved of the excesses of the Germans and their despicable agents, and no doubt will be anxious to re-establish a humane and honourable relationship between Jew and Christian after the war. What form that will take

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it is difficult to say, for the events of 1944 have deepened the consciousness, even among those who repudiated the excesses, of the difference between the two races, and the problem of finding jobs for the younger generation of non-Jews is not likely to have become easier.

LIFE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. About a quarter of the population of Hungary is employed in industry. The term covers all industrial processes, down to the village smith or carpenter, and nearly one-half of the persons listed as 'industrial workers', are in fact artisans or home-workers or employed in very small concerns with perhaps only one or two assistants. The government has always been anxious to encourage this smaller industry, both as a means of relieving rural unemployment and as constituting a social, dependable, God-fearing element of the population.

The other and greater half are the factory workers, employed in larger concerns with a payroll of ten or more. The most important of them are the great Manfred Weiss munition and metallurgical factories on Csepel Island, south of Budapest. There is a big iron works, belonging to the State, at Diosgyör, another munitions factory at Gyor, and some sizeable textile factories in Budapest. Outside Pécs, there are local mines. All industry developed quickly after the outbreak of war, to meet the needs, not only of munitions, but of other supplies for the army.

The position of the industrial workers in Hungary is, on the whole a good deal more satisfactory than that of the workers in the villages. As in every

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last twenty-five years enjoyed a political influence out of proportion to their numbers, owing to the fact that the Regent and many of his special circle and advisers were Calvinists. Actually, in Trianon Hungary about 75 % of the population was Roman Catholic and 20 % Calvinist, and this represents roughly the proportion of the adherents of the two Confessions among the Magyars.

THE MINORITIES. A good many of the non-Magyars of Hungary are also Catholic or Calvinist; thus the Croats, most of the Slovaks and a fair proportion of the Germans are Roman Catholic.

But several of the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary belong to Churches which are distinctively theirs, or to which, at any rate, few Magyars belong. Nearly all the Ruthenes are Catholics of an Oriental Rite, or 'Uniates'. Of the Rumanians, some are Uniates, the remainder Orthodox; the Serbs are Orthodox. Many of the Germans are Lutherans. The only other important religion is the Jewish.

While the Uniate Church is a part of the Roman Catholic Church, the other Churches all enjoy almost complete autonomy, and thanks to the system of 'denominational education', which long prevailed extensively in Hungary, and still exists in large measure, the non-Magyars were able to exercise a degree of control over their own schools. This independence was, it is true, much reduced in the past fifty years, but it was certainly through their Churches that those non-Magyars who were neither Catholic nor Calvinist were able to preserve as much independence as they did. The non-

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Magyars who were Catholic or Protestant 'assimi-
795 lated' far more to the Magyars than did the Orthodox Serbs or Rumanians. As regards religion itself, tolerance prevails; and, although the non-Magyar churches are not so rich as the Roman Catholic, they have not to complain of their status. Only the Jewish question, which has been described above, stands out differently.

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CHAPTER VI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1919–1944

Many Hungarians are eager to express admiration and even affection for Great Britain. They copy many of our ways and they like to think that their institutions, their outlook on life and their interests resemble ours. These feelings are quite genuine; and yet, in spite of them, Hungary has now been involved in war with the British twice in a generation, at the side of their bitter enemy. What is the reason for this?

THE GERMAN HUNGARIANS. First, although these are the feelings of most of the population, they are not those of them all. There is, as has been said, a fairly strong German element in Hungary. If those who still enter themselves as German-speaking are less than 10 % of the population, and they mostly peasants, there are perhaps almost as many Hungarians again whose ancestors were German and who, especially in the last ten years or so, have come to feel more German than Hungarian. Many of Hitler's doctrines, and most of all, undoubtedly his anti-Semitism, has made a natural appeal to this class. Unfortunately while the German-speaking peasants are without much influence, these sons or grandsons of peasants, who left the farms and secured a position in the national life, are very influential indeed.

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563 186 Many have climbed to the top in politics, in the government offices, in the Church, and above all, in the army, which, so long as Hungary belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (in which the army was a central service under the direct command of the King-Emperor) was a career which Magyars tended to avoid as 'un-national'. In recent years the influence of the high army officers has been important, and Hungary's policy has been very strongly influenced by the fact that so many of them were of German blood.

648 186 **FEAR OF THE SLAVS AND OF BOLSHEVISM.** The people of German origin are not, of course, the only pro-Germans in Hungary. Many others, especially in the middle classes, have been infected by the same ideas, particularly by the anti-Semitism, and by admiration of the German army and belief, spread by clever German propaganda, in its invincibility. To this has been added, both in 1914 and above all, since Hitler attacked Russia in 1941, the Russian factor. The Magyars, in their lonely position encompassed north and south by Slavs, and with the huge Slav masses of Russia just across their frontiers, have always been terrified of the Slav danger.

648 642 Moreover, in 1918 and 1919 there occurred events which have left a deep mark on all subsequent Hungarian history. When the war was drawing to a close and the imminent defeat of the Central Powers was apparent, the old regime gave way and was replaced by a new government of the Left, friendly to the Entente, under Count M. Károlyi. This government proclaimed the separa-

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668 648 Nor were the traditional ruling classes the only blind 'anti-Bolsheviks' in the country. The Arrow Cross, who seized power in October 1944 precisely because the Regent had agreed to seek terms in Moscow, were fanatic in their hatred of Bolshevism; and yet this movement, although not representative of the proletariat, was largely drawn from it.

563 648 668 186 THE LEGACY OF THE TURKISH OCCUPATION. The anti-Bolshevik element is quite modern, and applies only to the present generation. The other question, that of the 'Slav menace' is part of the larger problem which really settled which side Hungary would take, both in this war and in the last. Indeed, the whole position probably dates back to the blood-letting of the Turkish wars, from which, as has been shown, Hungary emerged with only the centre of her territory Magyar and with Slavs and Rumanians in the majority in the north, south and east. Distasteful and oppressive as the subsequent Habsburg rule was to Hungary, most Hungarians recognized that only Habsburg protection could save them from the Turks, and in more modern times, from other dangers: Russia, and the claims of Serbia and Rumania. In the last half-century before 1918, while this situation still existed, a new factor was introduced by the aspirations of the Slavs inside Austria itself. A federalization of Austria, as the Austrian Slavs desired it, might have kept the Monarchy intact but would inevitably have led sooner or later, to Hungary loosing her own Slav districts. Thus the Hungarian leaders found themselves bound not only to Austria, but to the centralist German element

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in Austria, as the only racial element in that country which did not threaten Hungary's territorial integrity; for the Germans of Austria did not interest themselves particularly in Hungary's German population.

THE BOND WITH AUSTRIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. Although, therefore, in 1914 the leaders of Hungary genuinely did not want the war, self-preservation prohibited them from leaving Austria and Germany in the lurch, even if they had been able to determine their own foreign policy, which was not the case. Thus in 1918 they were inevitably left, with the Germans of Austria, as the defeated enemy, while the other nations of the Monarchy gained their independence at the hands of the Allies, forming, largely at the expense of Hungary, the new States of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and the greatly enlarged State of Rumania.

It is true that Austria also received some German-inhabited districts in West Hungary, the Burgenland, but although Hungary bitterly resented Austria's action in claiming these districts, as treachery to her old partner, they were insignificant compared to what was lost to the other States. Moreover, there were only a few thousand Magyars in the Burgenland, while Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia each received, not only the districts in which Slavs or Rumanians, as the case might be, were in the majority, but also considerable districts inhabited by Magyars. Some of these, as parts of Transylvania, could not be left with Hungary without leaving a larger number of non-Magyars in that country. Other districts lay right

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on the frontiers, but were taken from Hungary, in spite of their populations, for economic or strategic reasons. In this way Rumania got, in round figures and according to the Hungarian census of 1910,[1] 1,700,000 Magyars, together with 2,800,000 Rumanians and 750,000 other nationalities; Czechoslovakia 1,056,000 Magyars, with 1,690,000 Slovaks, 420,000 Ruthenes and 325,000 others; and Yugoslavia (excluding Croatia, the cession of which Hungary recognized) 470,000 Magyars with 605,000 Serbs, Croats and other Yugoslavs, and 450,000 others.

THE POLICY OF REVISION. From the day on which the Hungarian delegates signed the Treaty of Trianon, the whole of Hungarian foreign policy could be summed up in the single word 'revision'—revision of the Treaty which had inflicted these losses on the Kingdom. Many Hungarians, of course, understood by 'revision' the complete restoration of 'historic Hungary'. They had been brought up in an intense pride in their ancient state, with its 'millenary frontiers' and in a firm belief that no other order was right, natural or even, in the long run, possible in the Danube basin. They had been taught to believe that the 'disloyalty' of the non-Magyars was simply the work of a few agitators, fomented from outside—from Rumania, Serbia or the anti-Hungarian forces in Austria. They believed that the peoples them-

[1] The census subsequently taken by all Successor States were, indeed, much less favourable to the Magyar element, but still showed large numbers of Magyars in each of these three States.

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selves were attached to Hungary and readily accepted the rule in it of the Magyar or Magyarized oligarchy and that they had no real cause of complaint. Others admitted that the non-Magyars had had much to complain of, and had become disaffected, but put the blame solely on the unwise and intolerant policy of the governments of the past half century and thought that a different policy would have ensured the loyalty of the 'nationalists'.

This belief in the justification of historic Hungary and demand for 'integral revision' was most freely expressed by those Magyars whose homes had been in the non-Magyar districts now lost to Hungary. These included many Magyar landowners, whose estates had been situated among non-Magyar peasants, among whom they were divided up by the new governments. This gave the latter the excuse of representing the whole revisionist movement as the work of a few landowners anxious to save or to recover their estates. This was a misrepresentation: for the landowners, although they would have preferred to save their estates, would still have wished to remain in Hungary on any terms, and many other persons besides them believed in 'integral revision'. But it is true that the whole question was made more difficult by the widespread Hungarian belief that the whole structure of the Danube basin ought to be centralized in Budapest and run on a uniform system which could, under the circumstances, be only a Magyar national one; that only a State, Magyar in form, could deal with its problems. From this it was only a step to the attitude that the Magyars

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186 themselves were the natural superiors of their
573 neighbours, a *Herrenvolk* acknowledging no equals
648 except, indeed, the Germans.
668 This *Herrenvolk* attitude, which was so bitterly and so justly resented by Hungary's neighbours, represented, of course, the outlook of the ruling class, whose domination, in its social and political aspects, pressed just as heavily on the Magyar peasants and workers as on the non-Magyars. But it does not account for the whole of the Hungarian 'revisionism'. The poor man in Hungary cared nothing for the estates of the Transylvanian magnates, and did not challenge the right of the 'nationalities' to freedom. But even he felt the Treaty to be unjust, and agreed with his government at least in the wish for a 'lesser revision' which would restore to Hungary the Magyar populations now left just outside the frontiers.

THE REVISIONIST PURPOSE OF THE GERMAN ALLIANCE. Hungary ended by joining Germany again in the present war because Germany, like her a loser in the last war, also wished to upset the system which the victors had set up after it, and was thus the only power both willing and, perhaps, strong enough to help her to her 'revision'. Thus the Hungarian position and actions in the present war have been the direct outcome of the last. Indeed, the two are so closely interconnected that it is really hardly fair to speak of Hungary as following the same course 'twice in a generation'; the whole is really only one story.

Many Hungarians felt deep misgivings about the course which they ended by adopting. The pro-

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German element was, indeed, constantly urging the closest possible friendship with Germany. They not only argued that no other country would help Hungary, but even if she could have chosen her helpers, they would have preferred Germany to be the choice, both as Hungary's 'natural ally' against the Slavs, and, after Hitler came into power, as the embodiment of counter-revolution, anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism. They ridiculed the idea that any force in the world would be able to stand up to the mighty German army.

Men who thought along these lines were very influential in Hungary, especially in the army, and were strongly represented in successive governments. General Gömbös, who was Hungarian Prime Minister in the early thirties, was one of them, and did much to lay the foundations of the later close co-operation between Hungary and Germany.

POSITION OF THE MODERATES. But not all Hungarians liked Hitler's ideas. There were, and are, many who hoped to see Hungary develop along more modern and more democratic lines. Then there was the old, widespread dislike of the Germans, inherited from the old revolts against the Austrian Emperors. There was a deep fear that if the Germans did win, their victory would not benefit the Hungarians, who would be enslaved just like all the other smaller peoples of Europe. Finally, a few of the more travelled and far-seeing Hungarian politicians knew something of the resources of the Western Powers and were not convinced that the German army was, after all, invincible.

10: Viski E-4, 5 (no date) 1932 EC1 Hungary EC

Girl markets

443 583 Marriegeable girls — in a literal translation from the Hungarian «girls for sale» — were always plentiful in Hungary, and there is no lack of them at present either. There have always been girl markets, and there still are to-day, although one Hungarian man could only buy one girl, even in ancient times, at least according to the rules and laws which prevailed in those days. In speaking of girl markets, we naturally do not think of genteel balls and other social gatherings and opportunities of meeting people; but of the markets and fairs where the common people had a chance of getting acquainted and where in olden days the purchase of a woman was made as quickly as that of any other desirable object.

443 583 563 Especially in those parts of pre-Trianon Hungary which were inhabited by different nationalities there have been, and perhaps still are, well known girl markets. After the devastations of the Mongol raid and the Turkish occupation, Southern Slavs and Roumanians poured into Hungary from the Balkans and Ruthenians came in from [361] Galicia. These newcomers mostly settled in families on cleared patches of forest land, and down to our own days they hardly ever formed real villages. This was especially the case with Ruthenians and the Vlachs. The inhabitants of these scattered settlements hardly ever came into touch with each other; at the best of times just the 443 583 nearest neighbours knew one another. Once or twice a year they gathered to exchange goods and therefore arranged a market. These markets were also opportunities for getting acquainted. The «popa» (their priest) was also near at hand and the lad who, besides the many attrac-

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

garian folk-music. These are the songs which are known 533
abroad in cafe society as "Hungarian" or "gypsy" music.

It is interesting and significant that the songs adopted by the people from these categories are usually the best of an immense production. They often become transmuted into real Hungarian folk-songs on the lips of the Hungarian peasantry, who simplify, clean, and polish the melody with their infallible instinct which springs from their closeness to the earth, and which is hostile to everything that is hybrid or artificial.

The interpretation of Hungarian folk-music as accompaniment of songs, as entertainment, or in the form of dance-music has practically always been the role of a sentimentally cherished but more or less disdained caste of professional musicians. Who acted as musicians to the Hungarians in their ancestral lands or during their migrations towards the Occident is controversial. All we know is that they had, and still have, original names for a number of musical instruments, and that some of these instruments were in use long after their settlement in the Hungary of today. This is sufficient proof to the effect that they already had a degree of musical culture before they settled on the great Central European plain eleven centuries ago. It is a fact that the Hungarian, proud by nature and by the force of circumstances, was never inclined to be a showman or a professional musician. We also know that at the time of their migrations to the European lowlands their musicians were Ukrainian bards, called *igritz*. From the occupation of the Valley of the Danube in 896 until the fifteenth century musical entertainment was supplied to Hungarians by autochtonous Slovene musicians.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century in the foot- 533
steps of the invading Turkish forces appeared the gypsies, 563

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

a dispersed low Hindu tribe which reached Europe via Egypt. Hence their name. In about a century they supplanted their Slovene predecessors altogether. The various branches of this extremely servile and adaptable race are to be found in our days practically all over the world, and wherever they settle, with only a few exceptions, they adapt themselves to the requirements of the dominating race and become their popular entertainers and professional musicians. At the same time they tenaciously cling to their own meagre but peculiar heritage, the practice of which they strictly limit to their internal affairs. Their own language and music they speak, sing and play only when they are among themselves. The main reason for their survival in foreign and often hostile circumstances seems to be hidden in the fact that even the most humble social strata of European or Balkan peoples would never allow their presence on an equal footing, to say nothing of inter-marriage or social relations, which were never tolerated. Their extremely different racial characteristics and their racial consciousness, make their assimilation absolutely impossible.

The prolonged presence of the gypsies in Hungary did not remain without consequences upon the development of Hungarian folk-music and folk-dancing. This influence was in a way instrumental in conserving the original Hungarian melodies, but it was also detrimental inasmuch as with their sensuous and rhythmically irregular interpretation the gypsy musicians often distorted the original correctness of the Hungarian rhythm. The rhapsodic timing of rhythm and the excessive speed so characteristic of gypsy music become apparent to the Western European or American listener only when he hears them play some international or classical music well known to him. This incorrect timing and excessive

727 destroyed, while Debrecen, bulwark of Hungarian Calvinism,
659 lay in ruins, including the famous Great Church. The 700-years-old Calvinist College remained intact and the Provisional National Assembly held its first meeting within its walls. We
[563] learned that the Jews were last put to work on fortifications at Budapest and Vienna. A strong protest was made to Regent Horthy against the inhuman deportations. Under ecclesiastical pressure these were discontinued after July 1, but they were resumed under Szálasi, who ordered not only Jews but everyone unfriendly to Hitlerism to be deported. Szálasi and the Gestapo began proceedings against all Calvinist priests who raised their voices on behalf of the persecuted Jews. The 400-years-old College of Sárospatak succeeded in preserving the Jews' wealth, school-books and ecclesiastical robes."

[668] Nevertheless, from the end of 1942, when a united front against Horthy had been formed which opposed the war against the Soviet Union, it had included Catholic laity if not clergy, and Protestants, and when the first National Assembly met again in the Calvinist College in Debrecen in 1944 the Provisional Government had extremely strong Protestant backing, particularly from the Calvinists, who provided one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly.

Liberation and After

After the Liberation the church situation in Hungary rapidly crystallised. To understand it, three points need to be noted:

659 The first is the attitude of the Government, which is effectively
[641] summed up in the Constitution adopted by the National Assembly on August 18, 1949, Article 54 of which states:—

1. "The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the freedom of conscience of the citizens and the right to exercise their religion freely."

2. "In order to be able to assure freedom of conscience the Hungarian People's Republic separates Church from State."

To this might be added an extract from a speech made by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Rákosi, on April 25, 1948, at the time of the controversy on the nationalisation of schools:—

"I must speak of one of the unsolved problems of democracy, that of relations between democracy and the Church. As everybody knows, Hungarian democracy stands for the most complete freedom of religion. Communists especially have voiced this since the first moment of the Liberation; and, of course, we have not only voiced it but have also lived up to it. Even to-day we do not think otherwise. In this connection allow me to mention one fact. For May 1 we shall provide bronze for casting church bells for 778 parishes. In so doing the Government is fulfilling a promise made for the centenary* year.

* Centenary of the 1848 revolution, which sought to obtain Hungary's independence from Austria.

794 208 of atomic weapons and therefore considers the Government which first uses the atom bomb as guilty of a crime against humanity.

II

[641] 659 1. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic, ensures absolute freedom of religion to the Catholic congregations, and also ensures freedom of activity to the Catholic Church.

[871] 2. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic approves the return of eight church schools (six boys' schools and two girls' schools) to the Catholic Church and will also see that in all these Catholic schools there are an adequate number of male and female teachers belonging to the religious orders.

3. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will provide for the financial needs of the Catholic Church in the spirit already agreed with other religious denominations in such a way that for 18 years, *i.e.*, until the Catholic Church can cover its financial needs from its own resources, it will grant sums decreasing in a proportion every three and five years respectively. Within the framework of the financial aid the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will lay special stress on ensuring a suitable living wage for the clergy.

To carry out the above agreement a mixed committee shall be formed composed of delegates of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Bench of Bishops.

Visit to Hungary

A visit to Hungary in the autumn of 1950 provided an opportunity to meet a number of Hungary's church leaders and to get a personal impression of the situation as it is to-day, and it should be said at once that the result was one overall general and inescapable conclusion: that Hungary's church leaders and church people were not perpetually preoccupied with the question of Church-State relations but with making the best provision for dealing with the overwhelming opportunities to do their proper work which were now open to them.

It was typical of the situation that glancing at the local press in the historic Calvinist town of Debrecen there should appear in prominent positions two statements from leaders of the Reformed Church, on this occasion saying that they gladly took part in the local elections because they wanted to support peace and democracy and the abolition of exploitation. Debrecen also has a [563] Jewish paper.

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evangelical magazine *Elö Viz* (Living Water). They are considering the publication of a new monthly magazine for congregational work.

The great need of the moment is for cantors as most of their church cantors were school teachers who abandoned their church singing when they entered the employ of the State. This would seem to indicate that when they were in church employ they did the singing as an act of necessity rather than from free choice. As to politics, all the Lutheran pastors, said the bishop, were in favour of peace but not all work for it, although the bishops have given them a lead. "Christians and Communists," he said, "can work together. The peace movement shows it." As to influences in thinking, Barthianism was still strong although not as strong as among the Reformed. Some think his influence cannot be reconciled to the Augustinian Confession* although the bishop himself regarded this confessionalism as retrograde in the modern situation. Other European influences are Ragaz and Kutter, although their influence is waning and the present situation with its new tasks needed new thought. Naturally pastors were now reading socialist works and a number of articles and lectures and conferences show the effect this has had on their thinking. This was not, nevertheless, regarded as a primary task in the present situation, in which there were so many practical tasks to solve in which theology had a good deal to say, one such being anti-semitism, which was not yet eradicated although the policy of the State was having its effect.

Ordass had been convinced that Western bourgeois democracy was right for Christianity and had been sharply opposed to the socialist direction of the country's policy.‖ He had had a considerable influence in the Lutheran Church but by now the greater part of the pastors could see that the church was developing under the present State and that they are now getting a new relationship with the people. In this matter of Ordass, the Lutheran World Federation had, he thought, been an instrument of American policy. Ordass had eventually been deposed by the Church which had petitioned the Government for his release.

Attending Catholic services, visiting Esztergom, and meeting a number of priests associated with the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee showed a vigorous continuation of the life of the Catholic Church. The symbol of the Catholic Peace Committee, a white cross on a blue ground with a dove at the foot shows a relationship which is far from being inappropriate and which, however long it took to come is now powerfully grounded.† The effect of the Church-State agreement is also symbolised by the buildings at Esztergom where the vast and rather pretentious

* One of the basic documents of Lutheranism.

‖ Bishop Ordass' trial for currency offences is discussed on p. 17.

† By December, 1952, 3,000 of the total of 4,000 priests were members.

15: Kárpáti G-3 (no date) 1943 EC1 Hungary EC1

	Total of farm land, hectares	Farms less than 50 hectares area	%	Farms more than 50 hectares area	%
Germany (1939)	53,209,000	28,690,000	53·8	24,519,000	46·2
Hungary (1935)	9,105,000	4,931,000	54·2	4,174,000	45·8
Italy (1930) ...	26,251,744	15,342,691	58·5	10,909,053	41·5

Since then the situation has been changed abroad and in Hungary as well, and a decided trend is evidenced in Hungary in favour of small holdings.

Laws concerning Jewish property.

The laws concerning the economic position of the Jews in Hungary augmented this trend. Under the first law 820,000 acres of farm land owned by the Jews had to be registered with the state and this area of land will be increased by 500,000 acres of forest land to be registered under the second law. Instructions were given that the title of approximately 400,000 acres out of the 820,000 should be transferred. Not only agricultural but national and social aspects will be served by the adjustment of Jewish property rights in estates.

The Hungarian agrarian policy, making use of the experience gained from the first land reform, is not swayed by the battle-cries of the demagogues demanding the distribution of the land at any cost, but is striving to create as many financially strong agricultural units as possible and to raise the living standards of the rural population. The discernment of the true needs of the agrarian population made the Government realize that the problems of the rural population cannot be solved by any one occas-

large families or were most in need of employment. The retail tobacco store licenses withdrawn from Jews were given mostly to ex-soldiers and war widows.

We have already dealt with the indemnification of war-bond holders who sustained severe financial losses due to the war in the section on public finance and taxation.

Social policy during the second world war.

War conditions retarded the progress of certain social welfare policies and stimulated others. The promotion of industrial labour policy has not been neglected during the war. The expansion of the sphere of activies of the various labour agencies and boards is going on and the Government is reinstating certain social measures which were suspended or restricted the beginning of the war in the interest of accelerated war-time production.

Overtime and paid holidays.

In the regulation of working conditions and the labour market nowadays anticipatory measures come to the fore, for instance the new wartime measures to check habitual idleness and any sign of reluctance to work. It was inevitable that the limitation of the hours of work should be suspended for the duration, and although it was restored for a short while in 1940, it had to be suspended again that year owing to the requirements of war production. At the same time the Government demanded that overtime should be paid for any extra hours of work. Defence requirements also made it necessary that the paid holidays enjoyed by workers under the law could be commuted for extra paid compensation. Furthermore, steps were taken that the time

15: Kárpáti G-3 (no date) 1943 EC1 Hungary EC1

105%, and 82% respectively. The number of workers gainfully employed by industry correspondingly fell from two and a half millions to one million eight hundred thousand, and this took place first of all in the districts inhabited by minorities.

The above data cover the whole state, but the lot of the minorities was the most severe. The deterioration of industry reached the greatest intensity in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia. This will be evident if we glance at some statistical data on living conditions. For instance, the average yearly meat consumption in Bohemia was 40.5 kilograms, and in Moravia 37.5 kilograms, while in Slovakia it was only 16.7 and in Sub-Carpathia 8.4 kilograms per head. We must bear in mind when considering these data that Czecho-Slovak propaganda always gave a rosier picture than was actually the situation in these districts by clever and biased grouping of the facts.

We get a clearer and more concise picture of the situation if we take into account the reasons behind the unfavourable position of the districts inhabited by the minorities. Greater Hungary's policy of industrialization endeavoured first of all to create opportunities for work in the poorer districts inhabited by the minorities in order to raise their living standards. Under Hungarian rule (1884 to 1914) the average per capita investment in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia was 230 gold crowns (in Transylvania 200 to 230 gold crowns, in South Hungary 150 to 200 gold crowns) in contrast with the yearly per capita investment of 70 to 150 gold crowns in that part of the country which constituted post-war Hungary. In the territory which became part of Czecho-Slovakia Hungary subsidized industry with grants, interest-free loans, machinery, tax

exemption and reduced freight rates. Between 1881 and 1914, 1333 such factories received subsidies, and by 1935 all these factories with the exception of a few were in ruins under Czech rule . . .

The complete ruination of industry was not left to chance and was not caused by the depression, but it was a fixed programme of the Czech Governments. The process was started by the stringent control of commercial and savings banks which was extended later to co-operatives and commercial houses.

It was continued by taxation measures and was marked by distinct favouritism in allotting state orders which consistently neglected Slovakian industry. How taxation was used to achieve this end becomes manifest when we take into consideration that 19% of the state receipts came from Slovakia and only 9% of the state expenditure was spent there.

During the first few years following the first world war 94.5% of the state investments was spent in Bohemia and Moravia. Out of the 3.5 milliard Czech crowns invested in 1931 by the state social insurance system, only 236 million Czech crowns were invested in Slovakia. Half of the expenses of the road building programme of Czecho-Slovakia was born by Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia, but their share in the programme was only 12%. The levying of taxes was governed by certain considerations in the historical Czech state and by different ones in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia ; in the latter the tax burdens were far heavier. The railway freight rates were always higher in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia than in the rest of the country. This fact in itself would have sufficed for the complete ruination of Slovakian industry. On the average the indus-

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1. Hungary shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting. 648 563

2. Hungary further undertakes that the laws in force in Hungary shall not, either in their content or in their application, discriminate or entail any discrimination between persons of Hungarian nationality on the ground of their race, sex, language, or religion, whether in reference to their persons, property, business, professional or financial interests, status, political or civil rights, or any other matter.

Never has a peace treaty contained fairer pledges. Unfortunately there exists no sanction against their violation save a rebuke before the forum of the United Nations. Such a rebuke was of course administered.

The charge which laid the Cardinal most seriously open to criticism was that as a Monarchist he had conspired to bring about a Restoration, had conferred with the Pretender to the Throne, and had relied upon American intervention to achieve his aims. The testimony on these matters presented at the trial and outlined in the *Black Book* is confused; nor did the Cardinal receive an opportunity to comment on the accusations in any adequate or sustained way. He admitted that he was a Legitimist, that he had hoped the Regency would be succeeded by a Monarchy, and that at the request of Otto of Habsburg he had conferred with him while visiting the United States during 1947. These things did not constitute conspiracy against the State, and would indeed be permissible within the framework of a relatively democratic society. Whether reestablishing the Monarchy was in any sense practicable, whether it was the form of government best suited to Hungary, and whether the population of the country would 793 695 687

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HUNGARY

Not only was the Hungarian military effort relatively unenthusiastic, so too was the Hungarian adoption of Nazi domestic policies. There was probably more freedom in Hungary during the first years of the war than in any other portion of the Axis territories except Finland. The relative mildness of the Hungarian regime may be seen in the character of its persecution of the Jews. Stringent anti-Jewish laws were enacted in 1938. They were, however, mild compared to those of the Nazis, and there was no systematic extermination until March 1944, when German troops occupied Hungary. A good many army officers with some Jewish blood or with Jewish wives were retired in 1941 or even before, but some few were protected and remained until 1944. While Jews were not inducted into the ordinary units of the armed forces, during the War, neither were they put into concentration camps or gas chambers. They were mobilized into a Jewish Labor Battalion which was sent to the Eastern Front and was there overrun by the Russians, who took its personnel prisoner.

The relative mildness of the Hungarian regime gave way in 1943 to a brutal fascist dictatorship, when the Sztójay-Imredy government was formed, and even more after the Germans occupied Hungary. The Regent Horthy opposed these developments. When German fortunes in the war declined, he dismissed the Sztójay-Imredy government and tried to duplicate the feat of King Michael by announcing that Hungary was withdrawing from the war against Russia. His attempted coup in October 1944 failed, however, and the Germans put Szalasi in for a few bitter months of totalitarian rule.

The desperate measures of Szalasi and the Nazis were obviously futile by this time, and some leading Hungarian officers went over to the Russians. In October of 1944, Colonel General Bela Miklos, who had been Commander of the First Army, was sent to negotiate an armistice and came to terms with the Russians. Colonel General Janos Vörös and Lieutenant General Gabor Faragho also went over. These generals in Debrecen formed a Russian-sponsored provisional government, in which Miklos was Prime Minister, Vörös Minister of Defense, and Faragho Minister of Supply. While the bulk of the Hungarian officer corps did not follow Miklos but continued to fight, the new government was able to return to Budapest in April of 1945 on the heels of Russian advances.

The Miklos government lasted thirteen months. It and the generals associated with it were used by the Soviets during the critical transition period. In November 1945 it was replaced and its members were all soon arrested. Vörös, the Minister of Defense, was seized in January of 1946 and was liquidated. Miklos died naturally in 1952.

Miklos, Vörös, and Faragho had all been prominent officers in the pre-Soviet Hungarian Army. Faragho had been military attaché in Moscow in 1940 and a member of the peace mission to Moscow

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and powerful Soviet officers, Revesz and Bata . . . may be moved into the public limelight and openly become Deputy Ministers. Alternatively some newly trained rising Communists . . . may combine the jobs now held both by the Deputy Ministers and the Soviet officers."

Events went faster than we anticipated. Bata jumped not to Deputy Minister but to Minister. We do not know if all the other anomalies have been ironed out, and only time will tell whether the other half of our prediction, the rise of newly-trained Communist officers, will also be confirmed or prove to be a groundless speculation.

2. Jewish Officers

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So far we have noted the absence of any one main source for recruitment of leading officers for the present Hungarian Army. We turn now, however, to a group which has or had significant representation in this army though it plays a relatively small role in the other satellite armies. That is officers of Jewish descent. Such officers have been rather extensively represented both among the Bela Kunist exiles and among the career officers whom the Communists used and then discarded.

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Until World War II, Eastern Europe was the largest center of Jewish population and an area in which the peculiar position of the Jews was such that one might have expected them to play a major role in postwar satellite armies. Actually, except in Hungary, they do not do so, partly due to Nazi extermination and partly due to Russian anti-Semitism. The Jews before the war were a fairly large minority in Eastern Europe. More important than their numbers in the total population is the fact that in these predominantly peasant countries the Jews were a quite significant portion of the urban population, and it is the urban population which has been politically active in the new regime. In prewar Poland, for example, 27 percent of the urban population was Jewish, and if we were to consider only the relatively well-educated, politically-alert segments of the urban population, the proportion would be even higher.

Furthermore, the Jews were a persecuted minority. Even before the Hitler terror they lived in a state of continuous oppression and consequent dissatisfaction. After the rise of Hitler this entire population lived in the shadow of impending doom. For ten or twelve years they saw the handwriting on the wall and for much of that time lived never knowing whether the next day would be their last, never knowing when they would be seized and thrown into a gas chamber. Those Jews who found themselves captured by the Russians were, therefore, fortunate. Their reception was far from friendly, but those who succeeded in escaping death under the Nazis found themselves at least favored with prison camp tutelage and a propaganda barrage. One would ordinarily expect this group to provide fertile soil for Soviet indoctrination, and indeed the history of some Commu-

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nist leaders in Eastern Europe reveals that on some this indoctrination took. But against all these factors rendering some Jews susceptible to use by the Soviets were a number of other factors which have limited the role of Jews in satellite military elites. The two most important factors operating to limit their role in satellite armies are Soviet anti-Semitism and the physical destruction of potential Jewish leadership in most of Eastern Europe.

It is only in the last two years that the western world has become acutely aware of Soviet anti-Semitism. The anti-Jewish trials in Czechoslovakia and other satellite countries within recent months have made the point perfectly clear. But, as a matter of fact, the process of eliminating Jews from key positions has been going on for some time in most Soviet-dominated areas. Jews have not been totally eliminated. There is a lot more variation in the Soviet process of anti-Semitic purging than there was in the ideological anti-Semitism of the Nazis. The Soviets distrust the Jews because they are intellectual, educated, and western oriented— cosmopolitans in Soviet jargon—but they have been eliminating them individual by individual rather than by flat edict. Nevertheless a large proportion of satellite Jewish leaders in the past few years have been eliminated. In our sample of the Hungarian military elite, half of the generals of Jewish origin, descent, or relationship had been removed by 1950 and more have been removed in the last few months.

In our sample of thirty-four generals who have been active since 1945, ten were in some way identified with the Jewish minority. It is significant that only five of these ten were themselves actually Jews. Two others had married Jews, one (whose biography we have already given) was a Protestant of Jewish origin, another a Catholic of Jewish origin, and another part-Jewish. By the standards of East European and Nazi anti-Semitism, however, they were branded with the label of Jew. With few exceptions they were purged from the wartime Hungarian Army and forced into the Jewish Labor Brigade. They became susceptible to the blandishments of the new regime in Hungary because they had been mistreated by the old.

At the same time the mistreatment they suffered was not such as to destroy them completely. We must not forget that under Hitler six million Jews were exterminated in Eastern Europe. That fact, plus the fact that in countries like prewar Poland it was virtually impossible for a person of Jewish origin to have a military career at all, means that after the war there were available in most of the countries of Eastern Europe relatively few Jewish officers with training and experience. A certain number of Jews are found in the political department and other unspecialized parts of the satellite armies, but except in Hungary they are for the most part not found among the professionally skilled military leaders. In Hungary it was possible for a person with some Jewish blood or Jewish relatives to have a military career and it was also somewhat more likely that he might

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survive the Hitler era. Thus we find that six out of the twenty-two career officers in our sample have some ethnic ties to the Jewish minority as do four out of the twelve new Communist officers in our sample. It is significant that the proportion is much the same for the two groups.

Before we leave this topic, it might be well to comment on the reason for the large proportion of what we are calling Jewish representation in the army which is not really Jewish at all, but consists of persons with some ancestral or marital ties to the Jewish community. It is striking that of the ten "Jews," fully half are not persons who considered themselves Jews or even whose parents considered themselves Jews, for it goes without saying that nobody who has a leading post in a satellite country today attributes any religion to himself. The men who were vulnerable to the Communist blandishments were not ones who belonged to the Jewish minority, knew it and accepted it, but were rather persons who wanted to consider themselves part of the majority community but found that the majority community would not accept them. They were persons whose families had been converted, or persons who were completely Christian in origin and identification, but who suddenly found themselves being discriminated against because of their wives.

The most famous of these characters, who turned to the Communists because of discriminations arising from the Jewish origin of his wife, was the notorious General Palffy. The fact that he was regarded as in some sense Jewish (although actually he was not), and that Farkas, the former Minister of National Defense, is Jewish made the Jews in the Hungarian Army appear to be more conspicuous than their statistical distribution justified. They are, however, overrepresented and as such illustrate a general principle which we have found to hold, not only in the Hungarian Army, but in all the satellite armies: namely that members of national minority groups in the various East European countries are particularly likely to be selected by the Communists to provide leadership.

Particularly in the secret police and the political department the Communists prefer to terrorize the population by agents who are not members of that population themselves. In Russia itself the Cheka was, originally, primarily a Latvian and Polish organization. In Hungary the former, but now purged, head of the State Defense Authority (the secret police) was Jewish. The Communists feel that persons who are not part of the majority community will have fewer personal connections and thus less sympathy for those among whom they live. At the same time Soviet anti-Semitism and particularly that of Malenkov has reversed that policy as far as Jews are concerned and has eliminated most of them from leadership by now.

3. The Palffy Clique

The signal for the rise of a postwar military elite in Hungary was Soviet General Sviridov's authorization to Major General Palffy,